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Manipur Territorial Congress Committee, Imphal, India

Case of Manipur

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Manipur Territorial Congress Committee
Congress Bhaven, Imphal.

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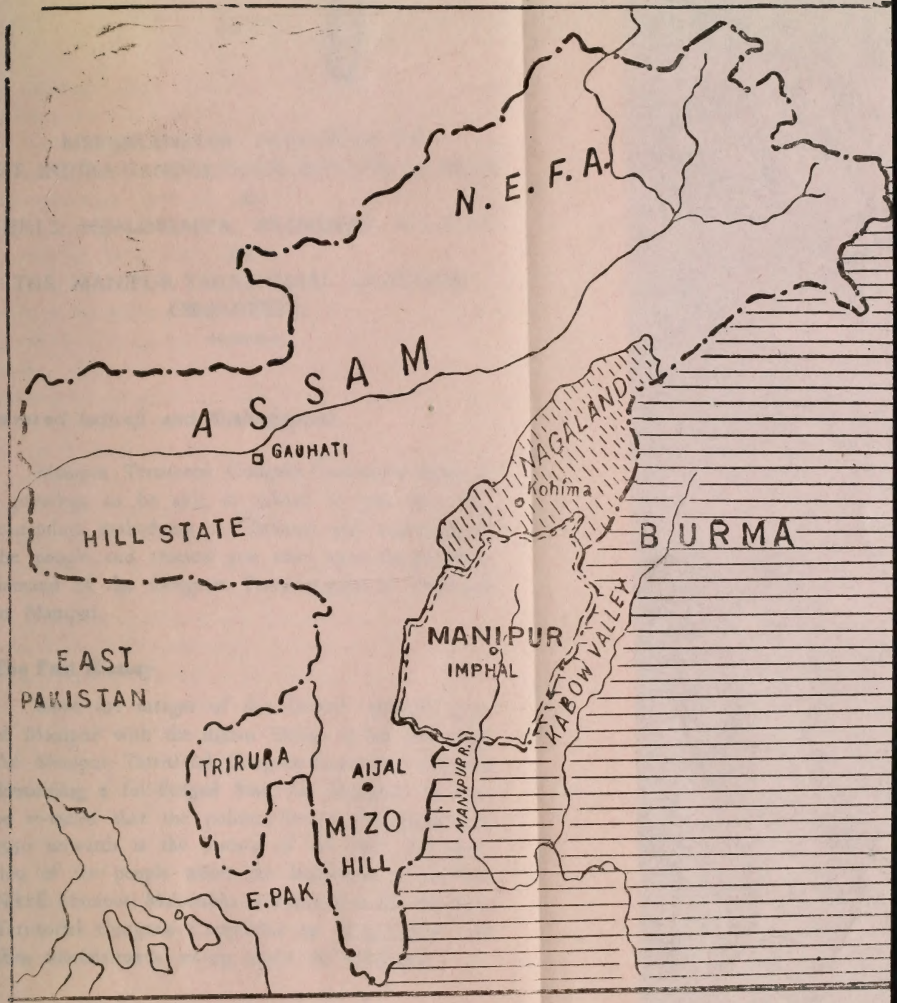
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MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO
SMT. INDIRA GANDHI, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA
&
SHRI S. NIJALINGAPPA, PRESIDENT, A. I. C. C.
BY
THE MANIPUR TERRITORIAL CONGRESS
COMMITTEE.

****

Revered Indiraji and Nijalingappaji,

Manipur Territorial Congress Committee deems it a previlege to be able to submit to you this memorandum embodying the feelings and aspirations of the people and remind you once again the persistent demand of the Congress Party for grant of statehood to Manipur.

The Past History

Since the merger of this former princely state of Manipur with the Indian Union in the year 1949, the Manipur Territorial Congress Committee has been demanding a full-fledged State for Manipur. It may be re-called that the political history of Manipur since 1930 onwards is the history of the fight and agitation of the people under the leadership of the then Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha now known as the Manipur Territorial Congress Committee to democratise the then administrative set-up under the Maharaja.

The Maharaja in recognition of the aspiration of the people here, established a full-fledged Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers responsible to it in the year 1948 before Manipur was merged with the Indian Union. The Congress Party and the people here urged the Maharaja to agree to the merger of the princely state with the Indian Union without any condition in the hope that our democratic minded leaders in free India will move quickly to install a more democratic administrative set-up in Manipur. Manipur with its distinctive features in language, culture and character of the people had been an independent state. After the merger of this state with India our late-lamented Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in his tour of the Eastern India in the year 1952 clearly noted the distinctive nature of Manipur and expressed his desire to develop Manipur as a separate entity within India. The note in his tour Diary is given in Annexure "A".

Manipur before the event of British Rule in the year 1891, was able to fight-back Burma and other neighbouring countries and its domination was extended to parts of Burma, Naga Hills District (now Nagaland) and Assam. The reports on the Eastern Frontier of India 1835 by Pemberton Capt. R. B. and Alexander Mackenzi published 1884 have clearly proved the historical facts mentioned above.

Manipur after its merger

The Political Resolutions of the first and second Manipur Political Conferences held on second July, 1953 and sixteenth August, 1954 urged upon our central

leaders to grant statehood to Manipur. Special mention may be made of the 3rd Political Conference held in April 1959 and inaugurated by Smt. Indira Gandhi as the then Congress President which emphatically demanded full-fledged statehood for Manipur. Since then several resolutions were adopted by the Congress Party and several delegations were sent urging upon our leaders to fulfil the legitimate demand of the people. Some of the important documents are given in Annexures "B to E" of the memorandum.

The other Political Parties and people have launched several agitations to fulfil the aspirations of the people of Manipur. Several changes political or otherwise have taken place during this period. Many new states have been created and are going to be created. But Manipur has witnessed changes only in the administrative pattern such as the Advisory Regime under Part "C" State, the Territorial Council and the present Administrative arrangement under the Union Territories Act of 1963. But all these changes fall far short of the aspirations of the people. The memorandum given in Annexures "B to E" clearly shows the ultimate Political solution of Manipur.

As far back as 1960 the Congress Party in its memorandum submitted to the then Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the Congress President and other central leaders pointed out very clearly that Manipur must be granted Statehood along with Nagaland so that the Territorial integrity of Manipur and of India as a whole may not be disturbed. Now the inevitable truth has come.

When a neighbouring area which was only a district

of Assam and whose population, annual income and size of area are not comparable with that of Manipur was granted Statehood, the people of Manipur more specially those living in the contiguous area of Nagaland are naturally tempted to go to Nagaland where they can enjoy greater Political rights and greater advantages for development. Manipur to day has been experiencing the pangs of separatist and fissiparous tendencies all around, which was never known before. Those people who are indulging in such anti-state and anti-social activities have been taking advantages of the present political vacuum created out of the present political disparity. Further the Agreement for the Cessation of Operation entered into between the Government of India and the Underground Nagas without the slightest information to the Government of Manipur has helped the anti-social elements in the cease-fire bound sub-Divisions of Manipur in their nefarious activities. The loyal section of the people was pushed behind. The present situation not only threatens the integrity of Manipur but the integrity of India as a whole.

We want to make it very clear and emphasise that Manipur will never tolerate the disintegration of Manipur in any form and Manipur will not sacrifice any part of its territory for any political settlement in Nagaland or elsewhere. The solution to all these fissiparous tendencies as we see from close quarters lies in raising the political Status of Manipur and the increase of tempo of development activities in this part of the Country.

The people of Manipur do not find any logic to delay the grant of Statehood to Manipur. The

question of economic viability as a criteria to grant statehood does now hold no water after the grant of Statehood to Nagaland. We venture to give below a comparative financial position of Manipur and Nagaland and the rate of central assistance to the two neighbouring states.

Comparative Statement for the year 1965-66.

		Manipur	*Nagaland*
	Area (sq. miles)	8,629	6,366
	Population (1961 Census)	7,80,037	3,69,200
(In lakhs of Rupees)	Revenue Receipts.	89.03	53.82
	,, Expenditure	739.91	1142.73
	Total Expenditure	1010.73	1362.73
	Net deficit on Revenue Account	650.88	1088.91
	Revenue Receipts as % of Revenue Expenditure.	12.03%	4.71%
	Revenue Receipts as % of Total Expenditure.	8.81%	3.15%

As is done in the case of Nagaland State

The centre has been subsidising the Union Territories for their non-revenue expenditure and development works. It will continue to do so for years. The grant of Statehood to Manipur, therefore, will not create a new burdun on the centre for financial assistance, It may increase slightly the rate of financial assistance.

But on the other hand duration of dependence on the Centre for financial assistance will be shortened once Manipur is granted Statehood. We want only the pattern of financial assistance to Nagaland by the centre.

Present state of Affairs

The frustration and disappointment of the people of Manipur on account of dilly-dallying attitude of the centre for grant of Statehood has reached the stage for a big political revolution at any moment. Statehood has become house-hold words for every man in this area and the youth particulary have become restless. The Congress party as a premier Political Organisation cannot remain indifferent to the present development. The resolution of the recent Political Conference (1968) which was inaugurated by Shri Nijalingappaji has given a mandate to the party to fulfil the demand of the people before 1972 so as Manipur as a State may participate in the General Election of 1972. The Manipur Territorial Congress Committee inspite of its being an unit of the Ruling Party and running the administration of Manipur, has, in its last meeting held on 10 10-68 drawn up a programme for mass non-violent agitations. The circumstances have compelled us to do so. The other Political parties and some youth organisations have already started this programme of agitation.

The Congress Party has been pleading the case of Manipur in a constitutional way till now though the the people more specially the youths are tired of this peaceful method But we still believe that the demand of Manipur may be settled by negotiations and discussion with our leaders. It is for our leaders to up-

hold the path of non-violence and peaceful method in any settlement of public issues.

The time and the circumstances which will make the local Congress very difficult and embarassed to associate with the present administrative set-up in Manipur, may now come soon. It will not be possible for us to go against the wishes of the people.

We, therefore, urge upon you to consider the demand of Manipur very seriously and make an immediate settlement

Yours sincerely,
R. K. Birchandra Singh
President
Manipur Territorial Congress
Committee

Date 8. 11. 68.

Annexure A

EXCERPTS FROM A NOTE BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON HIS TOUR OF THE NORTH EASTERN FRONTIER AREAS IN OCTOBER 1952 (19th to 25th October, 1952)

—:o:—

"The States of Manipur and Tripura stand on a somewhat different footing, although there are many common problems. Communications are bad Tripura is partly surrounded by Pakistan. In fact, the only practicable way of going from some parts of Tripura to the other parts is via Pakistan. Their trade was with Pakistan. The dominant people in these States are of course Manipuris and the Tripuris, both quite advanced. There was other tribes also and in Manipur there are many Nagas. Both of these States are rather small with a population of a few hundred thousands. And yet I think that it would be very unwise to merge them in some other State. That would create dissatisfaction and new problems Both are in their way very distinctive with a special cultural development and both have a longish past history of their own. Both produce fine handicrafts. Indeed all the tribal people produce finely and artistically woven textiles, which exhibit a remarkable sense of colour.

The artistry of Manipur produced a strong impression upon me. I saw, at the instance of the Maharaja, a show containing a number of dances-Manipuri, Naga and others, that show was quite a revelation. It was perfect in its artistry and aesthetic content. The normal dances that we see elsewhere in India (exepting of course the classical dances like Bharata Natya) seemed pale and insipid in comparison with this show at Mauipur The dancers were professionals and had many years of hard training. But no amount of train ing can give that artistic touch and vitality which I found there, unless the people possess it.

Manipur textiles are famous and should certainly be encouraged in every way. One of the complaints made to me was that of a sales tax on handmade tex tiles. As I looked at these textiles there, a feeling of regret came to me at the advance of our so-called civilisation which might in the future push out these textiles and replace them by mill-made cloth. Indeed a worthy Marawary gentlman suggested to me, to my horror that a textile mill might be started in Manipur.

The women of Manipur dominate the scene in the State. They are the workers and the producers ; the men apparently prefer generally to relax and allow their womenfolk to earn money for them. There was a very large bazar, called the Women's Bazar, where hundreds of women had stalls and not a man was visible, except possibly as a purchaser.

Both in Manipur and Tripura, there was the demand, strongly expressed, for what is called a democratic form of government, which meant an assembly,

ministry and presumably all the paraphernalia that accompanies them. The fact that they had Chief Commissioners governing them, hurt their pride very much. I think that very early steps have to be taken to vary the present system at least. We have already passed legislation authorising the appointment of advisers. This at least should be done as soon as possible. I rather doubt if this will satisfy the people there. I think that a beginning should also be made, in Manipur specially, in the constitution of a municipality, local boards and gram panchayats. That will be a sound foundation for future growth. Ultimately, I think both Manipur and Tripura should have something much more than advisers. At the same time, I cannot view with any pleasure the expensive apparatus of an autonomous state being introduced in these small areas. There is no reason why there should not be a common Governor, or a Leiut. Governor and a common High Court as well as possibly some other common features in services. To that extent they might be attached to Assam, the Governor of Assam being their Governor also. But I feel sure that it would not be desirable to merge in any greater degree in a bigger State. For Manipur to lose its distinctive character and culture would be a misfortune. Manipuris, I might add, are an amazingly clean people and one does not see a person wearing dirty clothes as is so common in the rest of India.

Manipur has apparently always been a self-sufficient or even small surplus area in regard to food and possibly in regard to clothing also. The price of rice, I was told, till a few years ago was Rs. 5/- per maund

only a year or so ago, it was Rs. 10/- Then it started rising steeply and reached the figure of Rs. 45/- or even more. This was a tremendous shock and caused great distress. I do not know all the details of the story, but obviously the principal reason for this was the export of 4000 tons of rice from Manipur to Assam. I suppose Assam's need was great, but that need was met at the cost of great scarcity and much misery in Manipur. People naturally did not like this early fruit of their close association in an independent India and compared it to their previous more prosperous condition when there was no lack of rice. I was told that later some rice about 400 maunds, was sent from Assam to Manipur. This was a very small fraction of what had been taken away. There is strong feeling on this subject and repeated demands were made for an enquiry as to who had bungled. The poor Chief Commissioner at the time had to suffer most from this resentment. I hope that in future, no such considerable export of rice will be encouraged from this small area.

Owing to the scarcity thus caused and also to floods which caused some damage, there was a demand for relief. Some relief was given. The new crops are supposed to be good, in spite of the damage caused by the floods."

Annexure B

Phone No. Imphal 124

Manipur State Congress Committee

Congress Bhavan, Imphal.

Express
Delivery
No. 11/SS LA/419 August 16, 1960.

"REFERENCE OUR TELEGRAM THIRTIETH INSTANT PRESENT SETTLEMENT OF NAGALAND PROBLEM JUSTIFIES STATE CONGRESS DEMAND FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR MANIPUR PLEASE APPLY SERIOUS THOUGHT TO THIS MATTER WE CONTEMPLATE SENDING DELEGATION SHORTLY"

Revered Pantji,

In confirmation of the above quoted telegram we beg to emphasise the urgency of the matter again. The present settlement of the NHTA problem has given the great hope to the people of Manipur and has also very much quickened the political tempo here. 'If NHTA gets responsible government why not Manipur, a more politically consious territory' are the words now in the mouth of every body in Manipur. Unless we activise ourselves now for early fulfilment of the political aspirations of the people,

we are afraid the Congress in Manipur which has already suffered some set-back in popular front on account of recent agitation by opposition parties, will have no position and no force as a Political Party in Manipur. We must have a final settlement of Manipur's case in terms of establishment of some sort of responsible govt. because until and unless that is done, the opposition parties will take the advantage of playing upon the people's political sentiment and launching agitation off and on for this popular issue and thereby to play down the prestige and position of the State Congress, who in consideration of the party discipline, can not take up direct actions of agitation.

In this connection we beg to say that the legacy of impression left by the S. R. C. report suggesting the possibility or desirability of merger of Manipur in Assam should totally be deleted from the mind of the Government of India. Manipur should and can never be merged in Assam. Historical circumstances and recent events will prove this contention of ours Historically Manipur has been remaining as a separate entity from a unique ethnic group quite different from any other racial group inhabiting other parts of India. They are the product of a mixture of Tribals and Mongolians with a little sprinkling of Aryan blood They have got an advanced culture forming part of the all-embracing Indian culture and a separate language. All these things still obtain in Manipur as before whereas in Tripura and Himachal Pradesh circumstances must have changed. If the Nagaland having an area of 6,000 sq. miles and a population

fo four lakhs with an obscure pas history is given the status of a State and if Manipur is denied her legitimate political status, the people will think that the Government of India appreciates only the logic of violence or they may be forced, inspite of ourselves to go the way of the Kohima people.

Another important matter to be noted is that Nagaland is an adjacent area of Manipur and some Naga areas of Manipur are contiguous to it. Apart from the sentimental appeal for unification of the Nagas, the Nagas of Manipur specially those in contiguous areas would prefer to join the Nagaland because they will enjoy the higher political status and more political rights. When the Govt. of India has taken the bold step of creating the Nagaland they should not stop halfway to annihilate Nanipur whose case should have been considered first. Thus the urgency of the matter may kindly be appreciated by the Government of India.

It may also please be noted that the Manipur people's stand that Manipur would rather die than get merged in Assam, is now amply vindicated by recent events in Assam over language issue. Any thought or attempt to get Manipur merged in Assam in future, stands self-condemned. This automatically brings in the question of final settlement of Manipur's political status i. e., a separate statehood with a responsible form of Government under Indian Union.

We are confident that experienced and sympathetic Home Minister and Prime Minister must have been feeling rightly these days the pulse of the people of

Manipur and the reasonableness of our demand. We have no doubt these two great statesmen will now make a final settlement of Manipur's case as prayed for by us. We are thinking of sending a delegation for discussions of the matter with the Home Minister and the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
(S. Tombi Singh)
President.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant,
Home Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Annexure C

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MANIPUR STATE CONGRESS COMMITTEE HELD ON 7-9-60 AT 2 P. M. AT CONGRESS BHAWAN, IMPHAL WITH SHRI S. TOMBI SINGH, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Resolution No. 1 **Political Resolution**

The Executive Committee of the Manipur State Congress Committee have reviewed the political problems of Manipur which have now assumed a crucial importance in view of the emergence of the Naga State with the assurance of democratic form of government within Indian Union as also in view of ever persistent long standing demand of the people of Manipur for a responsible government for which the people launched several movements. Now that Manipur is faced with two vital problems, it is time that the Government of India made up their mind about the final political set-up for Manipur setting aside the S. R. C. recommendations which have so long made them halting and indecisive.

One problem is that the people of Manipur have now become desperate with a wounded feeling because all the pleas of the Government of India namely economic viability etc. for denying responsible

government to Manipur which has larger area, larger population and greater income and resources than the contemplated Naga State, now stand exposed and hold no water with the granting of the Naga State. Another problem is that Manipur is threatened with disintegration because the Naga of Manipur, specially those living in the areas adjacent to the Nagaland, will naturally be tempted, inspite of themselves, to join the Naga State where they may rightly think of enjoying higher political status and larger political rights. The seriousness of both these problems needs no further emphasis. The first one ever poses a forceful indomitable challenge to the Manipur Administration and the second materially affects the integrity of Manipur and puts the tactfulness and statesmanship of the Central Government on a trial.

Taking into consideration all the implications of the above circumstances and the distinctive characteristics of Manipur and its people produced by its past history of separate independent existence from time immemorial, the Committee is of the considered opinion that the best solution for Manipur lies:—

a) in raising the status of Manipur to that of a separate state by amending the constitution ;

b) in preventing any part of Manipur from being tagged on to the Naga State so that the territorial integrity of Manipur may not be disturbed ;

c) in establishment of a responsible government in Manipur along with the next General Elections ;

d) in enlarging the powers of the Territorial council immediately as an earnest for responsible government to follow soon;

e) in taking up earnestly and extensively development programmes in all the spheres to exploit and augment the resources of Manipur.

Multiplicity of states is said to be a handicap to the unity and integrity of India. But this is necessitated by the inescapable legacy of past history and forces of democracy. In ancient Indian polity it was possible for small kingdoms to exist side by side with large kingdoms. Modern genius is to forge unity and integration of India in keeping with this legacy of the past and the forces of democracy. The Committee desires to make it clear that the State Congress abhors playing the role of political opportunists and that the above suggestions are irresistible conclusions based on objective conditions and forceful trials of events. The special considerations which made the Government of India concede the Naga convention's demands, are equally applicable in the case of Manipur.

The Committee therefore resolve that the Government of India and the Congress High Command be moved and requested to see that necessary steps are taken to fulfill the above suggestions at an early date.

Annexure D

AN EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE M. T. C. C. HELD ON 17-6-67 WITH SHRI H. BARUNI SINGH, PRESIDENT IN THE CHAIR

Resolution No. 5

The Manipur Territorial Congress Committee reviewed and discussed the latest trend of developments in the political situation of India more particularly in the Eastern border areas in the past few months. The demand for the Punjabi Subha being fulfilled, the Punjab State has now been divided into two States, viz, the Punjab and Haryana. The Committee now sees sufficient reasonable grounds for raising the political status of Himachal Pradesh which has been at par with Manipur, to a full-fledged State. The demand of the All Assam Hill Leaders' Conference to create a separate Hill State for the autonomous Hill Districts of Assam has been intensified during the past few days. The Government of India being unable to remain silent on this issue is now considering the Assam Federation Plan or Report of the Pataskar Commission on Nehru Plan to bring a political change in that area. There has been violent political agitations in the Mizo Hills during these days. The indignation and disappointment of the people of Manipur are on the increase when an area like Nagaland was given statehood and the underground

leaders as well as the Naga people's Convention, the ruling party of the present Nagaland Government have openly demanded the areas of Manipur and Assam for a greater Nagaland.

This meeting of the Manipur Territorial Congress Committee want to impress upon the Government of India that the All party Hill Leaders' Conference and the Mizo National Front may fellow the path of the underground Nagas to fulfill their demands. The Mizos have already followed suit. The Government of India has, therefore, to view the developments very seriously. The apprehension of this Committee is that the loyal section of the people of Manipur who are proud of being Indians and have been sharing in the efforts to bring unity, strengthening of Democracy and development of the country are now thrown into serious frustration. A section of the people has now questioned the utility of the allegiance and loyalty to India. The hostile Nagas and Mizos will take advantage of this situation and escalate their nefarious activities to our neighbouring countries like Burma, China and Pakistan. Manipur has so long been a hindrance to such hostiles and separatist elements in furthering their designs. The Committee after careful consideration of the dangers in the present and future political situation in this part of the country views with grave concern that if the present political set-up is allowed to continue, the imotional integrity between the Hills and the plains of Manipur which has been a separate political entity from time immemorial and the unity of India as a whole will be affected in an irreparable way. While a neighbouring area like Nagaland was given statehood and even venturedt o create a greater Nagaland, the apparent negligence of the Government

of India to the demand of the people of Manipur on the one hand and the Government of India's attachment of too much importance to the demand of a section of people who do not think in terms of India and are giving troubles to the peoples by doing illegal activities on the other hand, the people of Manipur is now very much disappointed and its limit of tolerance is now almost crossed. The Opposition Parties in Manipur are taking advantage of this situation and are blaming the Congress party here. The Government of India and the Congress High Command are aware that **the Manipur Territorial Congress Committee has been demanding a ful-flegged statehood for Manipur since the integration of this Territory into Indian Union** The non-commitment of our leaders at the Centre on this vital issue and the local Congress Party here being a unit of the great Indian National Congress, the people are being led to blame the Congress Party here for the present political set up in this Territory.

This Committee, therefore, strongly demands that the long standing demand of the Manipur Territorial Congress Committee to grant statehood to Manipur in order to bring a permanent political solution in this part of the country, be fulfilled immediately. The Committee also hopes that by granting statehood to Manipur, the undesirable activities of the under-ground Nagas and other separatist elements will automatically cease at least in Manipur and the integrity of this part of the country and India will be maintained.

Annexure E

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MANIPUR POLITICAL CONFERENCE HELD AT IMPHAL FROM 13TH TO 16TH JUNE 1968
Inagurated by Shri S. Nijalingappa, President, A.I.C.C. and Dr. Ramsubhag Singh, Guest-in-chief.

Resolution On The Demand For Statehood

Manipur had been a sovereign state from the time of its recorded history till the state was made a Native State of India under the British Rule. If we look back to the ancient history of Manipur, the extent of the territorial boundary of Manipur can easily be known. The Kabo Valley in Burma was annexed to Manipur in the year 1475 and by about 1761 Brahmaputra River was the boundary on the north-west and Dhaneswary river was the northern boundary in the year 1870 and when the British conqured Manipur in the year 1891, the northern boundary of Manipur was fixed at MAO. The above facts were proved in the "Report on the Eastern Frontier of India 1835 by Pemburton Capt. R. B." and "North-East Frontier of Bengal by Alexender Mackenzi published 1884." It was a clear proof of wisdom and farsightedness on the part of the then British Rulers to keep Manipur as an INDEPENDENT STATE even when Princely States in Assam were abolished one after another. They know that Manipuris were freedom loving people

who disliked to be subbordinated to any other race and always endeavouring to maintain the glory and the prestige of their forefathers. The origin, tradition, the facial expression and other social behaviours of the daily life of the Manipuris are quite different from that of other races in India. Coming to the language also there is no similarity with any other Indian languages. The language of Manipur is not a new creation but an ancient language having ancient script, ancient Purans and literatures. Besides, Manipuris have a distinct culture and arts of their own. This is not only true for the people in the plain but also for the hill people. Both peoples from the hills and plains have the same origin except certain differences in the matter of language, food & clothing due to separation in living. Such differences are always there even amongst the different tribes of the hill people themselves. The people of Manipur both in the hill & plain is a race who enjoy colourful arts. The late lamented Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was able to see the distinct culture, arts and tradition of Manipur in his tour of Eastern Frontier in the year 1952-53 and the people here are still recollecting the sweet words of Panditji. Shri Jawaharlal remarked. "It will be very unfortunate if Manipur is merged with any other state and its distinct values are lost." In order to protect the arts and culture of Manipur a Dance Academy was established and this tiny state has now a good place in the vast field of Indian Culture.

Manipur was the first to establish a POPULAR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT in the democratic political picture of India. Manipur has had a

LEGISLATURE AND A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS in the year 1948. The very legislature was dissolved along with the integration of Manipur with India. The democratic minded people of those generations rallied round the demand for liquidation of the Princely Order and integration of Manipur on the firm belief that Manipur would remain as a full fledged state within India and a popular government could be established. But to the dismay of the people and contrary to all expectations and belief Manipur has been retained as a Union Territory and its Government was degraded to a second class government and the people were also made a second-grade citizen of India. There has been changes in the political structure of India. In the west, the then Bombay State was bifurcated into the present Maharastra and Gujarat and a new Andhra State was created. The Punjab State was divided into the Punjab and Hariyana States. In the North-eastern Frontier, a district of Assam known as Naga Hills was raised to the status of a full fledged state and still now the question of re-organisation of Assam is going on. If we look back to the history of the creation of these new states, it transpires that these changes were brought about by violent agitations, threaten to fast unto death and armed revolutions and not by peaceful negotiations on reasonable grounds. But looking to the interest of India as a whole the Manipur Territorial Congress Committee has been, all these past years, endeavouring to raise the status of Manipur to a full fledged state by placing her case on reasonable facts and through peaceful constitutional, means. It is very painful that the Government of

India seems to neglect the case of Manipur. It may be appreciated if the case of Manipur is neglected after considering the merit and demerit of its claim. A restless political agitation has been brewing in the political atmosphere of Manipur since the political status of a neighbouring area which has no better claim than Manipur in all respects, was raised to a full fledged state and that of Manipur was lowered. The disparity in the political status between Manipur and Nagaland has created a ground for certain persons in Manipur for changing their loyalty and lead the people in the wrong directions.

There will be sufficient meterials and resources for bettering the economic condition of Manipur. It is a question of lack of mobilising the r esources. If proper survey is made, sufficient mineral products can be produced. For the present even if Loktak Multipurpose Project and some feasible industries for which the Govt. of Manipur has been taking certain measures are taken up immediately, it will help in raising the economic condition of Manipur to some extent. But for the time being, Manipur will not be able to stand on its own legs without substantial financial helps and the Centre will have to continue its financial assistance for some more years. The Government of India has taken all the responsibility to develop Manipur, a centrally administered territory, for which financial expenditure is controlled by the Centre. The Government of India is developing Nagaland by extending all sorts of financial assistance though the same is a full fledged state because of its lack of

financial resources. But the financial control is in the hands of the Government of India.

As such, to deny statehood to Manipur on the ground of lack of resources and income will be illegal. The Government of India will not create new patterns for granting statehood to Manipur which, for the time being, appears to be lacking in financial resources. The Centre has simply to adopt the same pattern as in the case of Nagaland. The Conference therefore has firm belief that grant of STATEHOOD TO MANIPUR immediately will certainly do good to the country as a whole.

The Political Conference is convinced that the Government of India, after detail discussions of the reasons narrated above, will certainly grant STATEHOOD to Manipur. This will help lessen the ever increasing political tensions in the north-eastern frontier of India on one hand and will help check the activities of certain disgruntled persons who have been taking help from China and Pakistan who were envious of India and threaten the territorial integrity of India on the other hand. The Conference warns that the Government of India will be difficult to escape their responsibility if right cause of Manipur is arbitrarily brushed aside and thereby the people in this most strategic vulnerable north-eastern frontier, unbearable of their long patience, recourse to a different approach and flare up a wide spread violent agitation endangering the maintenance of peace, law and order and the territorial integrity of India. The Conference therefore demands that FULL STATEHOOD MUST IMMEDIATELY BE GRANTED TO MANIPUR.

The Conference firmly believes that Manipur, as a full fledged state will hold its elections to its Legislatures in the next immediate General Elections of India.

The Conference has empowered the Manipur Territorial Congress Committee to do whatever it thinks fit to fulfil the demand.

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